

PEACE NEWS

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Foundations of Peace

by BILL ROBERTS

THE ending of the Japanese war by the atom bomb has thrown people into the state of panic in which they were in the 1930s, and similar policies for preventing war are being advocated. To form a balanced judgment of what we should do we must see the atom bomb in perspective as a still more efficient instrument of war. Its use has not altered the problem of peacemaking in any way, nor has it made the possibility of war any more remote. It has, however, made peacemaking more urgent.

The negative attitude of "stopping war" is altogether the wrong approach to the problem of making peace, because wars result from the revolt of peoples against unjust circumstances, or their demand for a favourable position internationally which is, in its turn, unjust to others. Peacemaking is therefore, primarily, a matter of adjusting differences voluntarily. When governments and peoples insist on behaving unjustly, the pacifist has finally only the card of personal pacifism against his own government, and of non-violence against others. If world unity comes about through a centralised control of the atom bomb, the pacifist's work is in protecting individuals against the tyranny of that central authority, and in opposing oppression.

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

When the policy of seeking to establish justice is applied to events today, its revolutionary nature becomes apparent. There are two facets to it, namely doing justice to others, and refusing to submit to injustice. To us in Britain the first facet involves abandoning both the Empire and the Export Drive, and insisting on the people of Europe and the Far East being relieved of famine and want. To the individual Britisher this means that the economic benefits which he gained from buying cheaply and selling dearly in the Empire will go; that he must not yet expect or demand increased rations; and that he must forego the hope of an increased standard of living.

On the other side of the scale is the fact that our favourable imperial position has already greatly deteriorated, that the Export Drive is almost sure to fall short of its mark, and that the American pension is likely to be small anyway. The curtailment of armaments will be a necessity for a poor country, and so will a comradeship which will insist on supporting the casualties of the policy.

THE PASSING OF PRIVILEGE

Briefly, this means that we must urge people to recognise that European supremacy and wealth has largely gone, and that we should attempt to establish ourselves as a peaceful but independent people as the Danes did last century, and renounce any attempt to re-establish ourselves in a position of privilege.

Obviously the presentation of such a policy is not work for any political party, nor should the PPU think of itself as such. It is a body of people who have themselves taken the pledge to renounce war, and seek to make peace in the world. Its function is akin to that of a church, which must publish the truth for men to accept, or reject at their own peril. If we judge any policy by its acceptability to the public we fail to realise that our work lies in the realm of the spirit, and of the choice of what is worth seeking in life. We must show people that something other than the pursuit of wealth is the goal in life, and that entails finding for ourselves that which is better than riches.

NEW LIGHT ON THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA

"Buying time to work out plans"

LOOK from the clothes to the faces, and the palpable difference caused by near-starvation emerges: what attracts attention is not the thinness, not even the universal tiredness, but the colour. For the faces of the babies in the perambulators are dead white: the flesh has a waxen or soaplike appearance. Young children are yellow, but from twelve they show the pallor normal in the adults, except when they are obviously discoloured by jaundice: the faces of the old, of whom there are few, wear the same dead white or yellow as the babies and younger children. There are a few exceptions; but pink round faces normally belong to prostitutes or to servants employed and in part fed at some Allied mess or official establishment. Occasionally a small child's face appears still touched with pink, but usually by some dreadful law of compensation, the mother's is horribly sallow and thin."

That comes from a description of Berlin in *The Economist* (Sept. 29). Those waxen faces are all too familiar. I saw them in the German schools in 1923; I remember them in the descriptions of the famine in the Ukraine a few years after. Always the result, not of natural catastrophe, but of man's inhumanity to man.

The best news that has reached me is that "Save Europe Now" is becoming active at the political level. I understand that a group of younger MPs is being formed with a deep concern that Government action should be taken.

The one in ten

LAST week I suggested that Czechoslovakia might not ultimately abandon Western "democracy." A correspondent of *The Economist* (Sept. 22) partly confirms, partly corrects this feeling. "The Russian soldiers," he says, "have not been good ambassadors for Russia"; 10 per cent. of them are uncontrolled. One uncontrolled soldier in 10 in an occupying army can make life hell for a liberated country.

Last May the Czechoslovaks were looking towards the East. Within three months in a great many minds that orientation has changed. They are looking even more desperately towards the West. . . . They feel that, largely through the Sokol movement, they have built up a level of culture that is superior to that of Russia, and they are determined not to be submerged by a civilization that is more massive but less advanced than their own. They do not look to the West because they wish to imitate the forms of Western democracy, but because they wish to preserve what they have in common with life as lived in Western Europe.

They will discover that though life as lived in Western Europe does not depend on democratic forms, it does depend on the democratic spirit—of tolerance and liberty—which makes possible the working of democratic forms.

Without disturbance

THE writer goes on to make some observations which may be of great importance for an understanding of Russian policy.

It would be a bold man who would dogmatise on the Russians' reactions to their experiences in Czechoslovakia over these last three months, for Moscow does not think aloud. But Russia is realist in thought and intelligently led. As a system of government the Russians have not yet learned how much a people can benefit from a public confession of their mistakes and shortcomings, but as a people they do learn from the experiences they gain from contact with the western world. The balanced Czechoslovak view is that Russia is still defensively minded and anxious to secure her frontiers in depth, not so much against physical attack, but more to gain time for their leaders to work out their long-term plans without the disturbance of ideas coming from outside.

If that is true, what we have to fear is not so much a further advance of Communism into Western Europe. The experiences of the unfortunate fringe, who have had a belligerent of Russian liberation—even Alexander Werth notes "the widespread hostility among Poles towards Russian troops" (*Listener*, Sept. 20)—will act as a psychological barrier. What we have to fear is a deliberate effort of the Russians to prevent Western Europe from becoming once more a going concern—the home of a way of life that will exercise a compulsive attraction on the Slavs who have experienced European civilization.

Observer's Commentary

The fear of the West

THIS would be a plain, better than any considerations of pure power-politics, the extreme violence of Russian opposition to any suggestion of closer cooperation in Western Europe. For the idea that a Western European and Scandinavian bloc could contemplate military attack on Russia is now become fantastic. But it does offer the hope of realizing a genuine democratic socialism (which, indeed, without such closer economic union, is impracticable); and the success of democratic socialism in the West might be psychologically dangerous to the present Russian regime.

Stalin himself will not have forgotten Lenin's prophecy that if and when Western Europe achieved socialism, in its own way, Communist Russia would become a backward nation. Lenin hoped for that day: Stalin appears to fear it.

But let us not get too pessimistic about Russia. If only absolute disaster to Germany can be prevented, with its consequent poisoning of the springs of life and renewal in Western Europe, there is much to be said for a firm and unified control of Eastern Europe by Russia: which means in fact a fairly orderly agrarian revolution instead of the bloody anarchy which would have been almost certain. But is Russia economically strong enough to provide the capital equipment for those countries?

In any case, the urgent, the terribly urgent need, is the positive reconstruction—political, economic, spiritual—of Western Europe into a new form of international polity. If that great work is undertaken with moral

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

KAGAWA TO HELP THE NEW JAPAN

IN an answer to a series of questions addressed to him by The Associated Press, the new Japanese Premier, Higashi Kuni, wrote:

"America has won and Japan has lost. The war is ended. Let us now bury the hate."

"People of America—won't you forget Pearl Harbour? We, the Japanese people, will forget the devastation wrought by the atomic bomb and will start entirely anew as a peace-loving nation."

He said that he had asked Toyohiko Kagawa, the famous Christian leader, to serve unofficially "to help raise moral standards, do away with hatreds and establish friendly relations with the United States and other countries."

Kagawa, who is now 57 years of age, was educated in Kobe Theological College, and lived and worked in the slums of Kobe for 15 years. He became the leader of what may be called Christian Socialism in Japan, organised the Labour Federation in 1918, the Farmers' Co-operative in 1922, and became head of the Social Bureau in Tokyo in 1929. He has achieved an international reputation.

"SAVE EUROPE NOW"

1. STOCKS 2. GESTURE 3. TRANSPORT

—lines for effective help

THE Public Action Committee of the Peace Pledge Union have issued an amplification of the majority decision of PPU Executive (reported in last week's PN) that "Save Europe Now" is the most important form of activity for the PPU during the next few weeks."

The Public Action Committee point out that they "had already been active in relation to the situation in Europe in general and the 'Save Europe Now' appeal in particular." They now make the following "important addition" to clause 4 of the original basis of the People's Peace Crusade:

THE extreme urgency of the situation in Europe involving as it does both the starvation of millions and also the general misery of the displaced people, makes the Executive desire to give to this more personal problem a paramount place in PPU activities (including the Crusade) for the next few weeks. Henry Carter, as the result of his recent visit to Switzerland, has reported "Beneath the conflict of political policies is a seething mass of human misery unprecedented in magnitude and intensity." The general need, therefore, is to secure at once for Europe the food without which literally tens of millions will starve within the next six months. The particular action for us may be seen under some such headings as the following:

- Pressing for an investigation as to the statistics of the stocks of food held in this country and the possibility of their use to meet the situation in Europe.
- Arousing the people in this country to the point of offering to reduce their own food supply for the purpose of sharing with Europeans of all nationalities.
- Urging that the additional transport in the way of ships, planes and lorries required to ensure the adequate distribution of existing food supplies should be made available.

Some such detailed policy would be the immediate implication of the Executive Committee's Resolution. Only by such action can we hope to prevent the growth of a hatred destructive of the possibility of real reconciliation and to build up the right relationships without which the People's Peace is impossible.

(Peace News reproduces the above clause from a Public Action Committee statement which also includes an amplification of the decision taken by PPU Executive. The whole document has been circulated to all Group Leaders and others involved in the People's Peace Crusade.)

TARGETS

IN our last appeal we referred to the National Savings Week run on the note of thanksgiving for victory and the ending of the war. Our own thanksgiving appeal was on somewhat different lines—thanksgiving for the preservation of our own near and dear ones; thankfulness for cessation of the killing; rejoicing with all for whom it has made possible the restoration of broken family life—overwhelming thankfulness for that.

About celebrating victory we feel somewhat differently. The National Savings Thanksgiving Week marking the end of the war to destroy German Nazism and militarism closed with a demonstration of "mimic warfare" in Hyde Park by 1,500 members of Youth Organizations! Well, it attracted the public and London's target of £125,000,000 was overspassed with a total of £130,702,803.

We ourselves do not attempt to rival that: we do not set any target at all. Our thanksgiving MONTH has brought in £36 15s. 11d. We are not dissatisfied but we would like to give our friends still another fortnight to express their thankfulness before we leave the subject; and then we have another little idea to advance in connection with savings and the end of the war. But we'll announce that next time.

Meanwhile please continue to support our HQ appeal in the thanksgiving spirit: our savings fund for the furtherance of PPU work in the new opportunities that are before us now that the war is over—not by the training of youth for war but by the dedication of all to the true ways of peace.

MAUD ROUNTREE
CORDER CATCHPOOL
Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to HQ Fund since Sept. 21: £12 14s. 6d. Year's total to date: £402 18s. 7d.

Power, planning and pacifism

by HAROLD K. HOLT

WITH the invention of the Atomic Bomb by a few scientists and its use on hundreds of thousands of defenceless human beings, we see the repudiation of the species by the individual. To be a Big Power is now a positive menace, a constant overshadowing threat to the lives of millions. Mr. Churchill has stated that the power derived from atomic energy could be used either for wholesale destruction on an unprecedented scale or as a perennial fount of prosperity. But we did not lack power even before the splitting of the atom. In the days of our pre-war "prosperity" we never had less than two million unemployed, whilst throughout the world coffee was being burned, fish thrown back into the sea, and cotton ploughed into the land.

Nevertheless, the struggle for power goes on and each of the Big Powers is striving to consolidate and strengthen its position in the post-war world. Today millions of men, women and children do not know the taste of fresh butter, milk and cheese; even bread, once the "staff of life" is beyond the reach of many. It is characteristic of our time that, whilst these conditions exist, every Big Power is attempting to multiply its industrial exports; they must be "doubled," "trebled," "quadrupled" for they are the weapons of the peace.

Australia is now producing steel more cheaply than America can produce it. India, now one of the greatest industrial nations in the world, turns out 5,000,000,000 yards of cloth a year. Argentina, once regarded as a "comic opera" country, produced 32,000 tons of cotton cloth in 1944 as against 17,900 tons in 1939, whilst during the same period the production of woollen cloth increased from 11,000 tons to 17,000 tons. Brazil's exports of cotton textiles have been responsible for no less than one third of the "substantial foreign balances" which she has accumulated since 1942.

GIANT STRIDES

But it is in America that this development has gone furthest. Early in 1942 their Secretary of Commerce stated that the Defence Plant Corporation, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, had built and equipped 1479 plants and other facilities—at a cost of £1,750,000,000. Towards the end of 1941, 100 large companies between them held 82 per cent. of the U.S.A. war orders, four companies sharing 21 per cent. Before the war the American standard of living and American wage-rates were much higher than in this country—yet British firms were failing to compete with American organizations, even in our home market. Lewis C. Ord in his book "Secrets of Industry" points out that 120 British workers were necessary to equal the produc-

tion of 100 American workers, whilst the non-productive personnel per 100 productive workers was 90 as against 25 in America.

Since this data was collected, the situation has become much more favourable to American industry. It must be remembered that the war came quickly to this country. With the collapse of France, production was "farmed-out" to small firms and dispersed throughout the country to avoid air-raids. In America, on the other hand, huge plants were assembled, working by the most up-to-date mass production methods. Small firms were not considered, by deliberate policy, and throughout the war they have been failing and going out of business at an ever-increasing rate.

Now, with the ending of Lease-Lend, America is all out to capture the markets of the world—immensely confident, strong and efficient. But where will it all end? Ord believes that American efficiency is due to cut-throat competition, freed from government control and red tape. But cut-throat competition on such a vast scale, run for private profit and concentrating on the expansion of exports, will lead to catastrophe when the buyers have not the means to pay.

THE CULTURAL FACTOR

The Labour Government, on the other hand, believes that the solution lies in the nationalization of industry and planned, centralized control. But a nationalized economy may serve any master, Fascist, Communist or Socialist. Consequently, it becomes more and more evident that the political, cultural and ethical conditions of a country are factors of primary importance; they decide the use to which the economic machinery is put. We are not a "politically-conscious" people, the last 30 years has witnessed a disintegration of ethical standards, whilst our culture, so far as it exists, is confined to a small minority and has no roots in the daily life of the people.

These conditions will not be remedied by creating an educated elite. The "laboured education of a few will not raise even those few above the reach of the evils that beset the ignorance of the great mass of the population: the brutality, of which such a huge stock has been accumulated lower down, will show through the selfish refinement of those who have let it accumulate." Again, the direction of the whole life of a nation in accordance with a planned economy must be based on a "social" view of what ought to be done. It implies that each of our needs is given its place in a scale of values. In other words, it presupposes the existence, in the life of the nation, of that system of ethics which today is so obviously lacking.

IMPOSSIBLE TASK?

Is, then, the task confronting the Government an impossible one? It is impossible if the Government is content with a "continuity" of the foreign policy of its predecessor—as Mr. Bevin recently inferred. It is impossible if the Government believes, with Miss Ellen Wilkinson, that "the most mischievous thing that can be said abroad today is that Britain is a second-class Power." It is impossible if the industrialization of the country is to be still further developed and intensified in order to chase the mirage of continually expanded exports.

The task is not impossible if "pounds, shillings and pence are meaningless symbols," in the sense that our wealth consists of the intelligence, skill and labour of our people; if the mass of the people are given new incentives and are imbued with new aspirations. But it must be recognised that there must be a qualitative and not merely a quantitative change in such incentives and aspirations. Such a change will not be achieved by merely using "the great new Education Act as a store-house of mental machine tools" for industry or by the Ministry of Education keeping "close contact with the Board of Trade." The place of the Ministry of Education is alongside

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A call to action

THERE is one overriding human need today—to keep alive what can be kept alive of the prostrate German people. There is one overriding difficulty—the difficulty of awakening the human imagination, dulled and calloused by six years of warfare, to the fearful reality of the situation. "I came back to England last month," writes Henry Carter, "convinced that the European picture had not been seen in true perspective. . . . Beneath the conflict of political policies is a seething mass of human misery unprecedented in magnitude and intensity." ("The Human Needs of Europe": N.P.C. 4d.)

Let us take a single example. The Observer (Sept. 16) reported that the

food allowance in the French zone of Germany was 800 calories a day. UNRRA's official goal—a minimum diet to sustain normal life—is 2650 calories a day. The absolute minimum fixed by the US army, not to sustain normal life, but "to prevent disease and unrest" is 2000 calories. The food of a German in the French zone is well under half that, well under one-third of what UNRRA reckoned to be necessary. In short, it is starvation absolute.

People, not ill-conditioned or naturally callous, say that the food rations of this country have been already reduced to the minimum. But they have no conception of what is happening in the French zone of Germany, where our single ration has to feed four people. And no one has any conception at all of what is happening in the Russian zone. They have to pass, in imagination, from one world of experience to another: from Heaven to Hell. They cannot do it. Even a famous minister of the Christian religion, when approached to preach a sermon in support of "Save Europe Now," replied peremptorily that he would not support any appeal to reduce the already insufficient rations in this country.

It is true that the present rations of the manual worker in this country are only just enough to enable him to do his work and keep his health. No Government could be expected to introduce an all-round cut in rations. But there are millions of people in

the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health.

Fifty years ago William Morris said, "There is a danger that the strongest and wisest of mankind, in striving to attain a complete mastery over nature should destroy her simplest and widest-spread gifts and thereby enslave simple people to them and themselves to themselves, and so at last drag the world into a second barbarism more ignoble and a thousand-fold more hopeless than the first."

Industry, it is obvious, has come to stay; its benefits can hardly be over-estimated; but the use and concentration of industry has been based on our ideas of power; it has become an obsession. As a result, we have created a world in which masses of human beings have become spectators instead of participants in life; where the rhythm of the seasons has been destroyed and where flesh and blood is less real than paper, ink and celluloid. Our industrial towns have become vast wrens "where summer and winter are only alternations of heat and cold; where snow never fell white nor sunshine clear; where the ground is only a pavement and the sky no more than the glass roof of an arcade; where the utmost power of a storm is to choke the gutters and the finest magic of spring, to change mud into dust; where there is no interest or occupation for any of the inhabitants but the routine of counter or desk within doors, and the effort to pass each other without collision outside."

STRIKING A BALANCE

If a more even balance is effected between town and country, industry and agriculture; if we co-operate with the smaller democracies with long traditions of co-operation; if we give the freedom we profess to believe in to India and the Colonial peoples, then I believe we can live happily and peacefully. By current standards our "standard of living" would fall, but we should have the essentials and we should learn to discriminate; in health in awareness, we should be the gainers.

Today, however, only the most highly industrialized nations can make war and underlying all government policy has been preparation for war. To effect a balance between agriculture and industry means that we should cease to be a Big Power. Thus, behind every attempt at social or economic re-construction stands the fundamental question of pacifism. Hitherto, left-wing "realists" have pointed out that pacifism is not "practical politics" and from this they have gone on to renounce pacifism. It is now time for us, as a nation, to renounce "practical politics."

those country who are not manual workers. It may be too late to introduce a differential ration for them. But it is not too late to appeal to them voluntarily to forgo something; to swell the volume of declared willingness to make a little sacrifice to save some of their stricken brothers.

But—let us be quite clear—if the appalling tragedy of Germany is to be averted, or even largely mitigated, it is action at the government level that is required. It is, in the last resort, political pressure that must be brought to bear to ensure that Britain does all that is humanly possible to prevent disaster within the British zone of occupation. It would, for instance, be a crime against humanity if more than the absolute minimum of reserve stocks were kept in this country at this moment; or if the army rations were still maintained at their exorbitant war-time level.

No doubt, even when Britain has done its utmost, the main hope of salvation for Western Germany lies with America. For Eastern Germany there is none. We can do nothing about that. What we have to do is to see to it that this country does its utmost, without waiting any longer for agreement with its allies. The British zone in Germany is our concern: we have accepted the fearful responsibility of becoming its government. If a million Germans die there during the coming winter, their blood is upon our heads.

It seems quite impossible to do anything to mitigate the far more appalling conditions within the Russian zone. There the thrusting of millions into misery, starvation and death appears to be deliberate policy.

"Into the Russian zone are being poured millions of homeless, helpless human beings; out of it are being removed the means of subsistence which were totally inadequate even to the population already there."

The behaviour of Russia has come with a giant shock to what remains of the conscience of Europe. Our duty is to keep that conscience alive; for humanity is today in deadly peril of an irrecoverable plunge into savagery. Each one of us must think, work, scheme and sacrifice to save Europe now.

WORDS OF PEACE

No. 145.

The most distressing aspect of the world in which we live is its indifference to the basic issues, which now, as always, are moral issues. . . . The words peace, justice, cooperation, community and charity have fallen out of our vocabulary. They are, in fact, regarded as signs of weakness and as showing that the one who uses them is guilty of the capital crime of modern times—lack of realism. The rise of the new realism was bound to produce confusion in America; for the new realism is nothing but the old Realpolitik. It represents the conquest of the United States by Hitler. It suggests that the one powerful nation in the world which claimed to hate Machiavellianism, and repudiated the doctrine that military superiority implies moral superiority, must now embrace those theories or be accused of being "soft." A nation which fought two wars to end war must now, in the hour of victory, plan to have the greatest navy in the world; it must have perpetual conscription; and it must get all the island bases it can lay its hands on. A nation which has pretended to the name of Christian must now abandon the attempt to deserve it.—President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

CAPT. BELLENGER'S "RESPONSIBILITY"

GARRY ALLIGHAN, MP, wrote in the Daily Mail (Sept. 18) that controversy about conscription "is again surging through the (Labour) party in the localities and is causing some embarrassment to those Labour MPs who feel that their primary duty is to the people in the constituencies."

The most embarrassed member of the Front Bench will be Captain F. Bellenger, because he is—unless he has changed his views during the past four months—a bitter and most sincere opponent of the principle of conscription.

"His impending embarrassment will derive from the fact that he is now the Financial Secretary of the War Office—second in command in the House of Commons to War Secretary Lawson—and as such must make parliamentary statements on conscription."

Mr. Allighan recalls that Capt. Bellenger spoke against continued conscription at the Blackpool Conference last May, but forecasts that "he will accept courageously the responsibilities of his office" and "faithfully interpret the desires of the Government whom he serves."

WOODWARD GETS APPEAL

AT Bury on Sept. 17, Roy Woodward, 18-year-old Manchester CO, was court-martialled a second time and sentenced to 93 days' imprisonment, which will qualify him to appear again before the Appellate Tribunal.

While serving a sentence of 56 days' detention awarded by his first court-martial, it was alleged that his civilian clothes were taken away and that, as he refused to wear military uniform, he went naked for a fortnight. Several times he had been dressed in khaki by the military but each time he had taken it off again. When visited by his father, he was clad only in a towel, but was later allowed to see his mother in a shirt and trousers. A letter in the Manchester Guardian (Sept. 7) drew attention to the case and following the urgent representations of the Central Board for COs, Roy Woodward was allowed to wear his civilian clothes.

On behalf of the CBCO (6 Endsleigh St., WC1), Denis Hayes is preparing a history of the CO movement during the war and will be glad to have notes of unusual happenings and light relief that may not have found its way into the Central Board's files. There is, of course, no guarantee that it can be included.

EMINENT SPEAKERS AT N.P.C. CONFERENCE

AN imposing array of speakers is taking part in the National Peace Council's Conference on "The United Nations and the Future Peace" at the Conway Hall, London, in the next two days.

John Middleton Murry, editor of Peace News, and Victor Gollancz are taking part in the first session, starting at 2.15 p.m. today.

H. N. Brailsford is among the speakers in the second session after tea, and Sir John Orr and G. D. H. Cole are due to take part in the Saturday morning session. For the final session at 2.15 tomorrow, Dr. Rita Hinden is an additional speaker.

Tickets (price 1s. 6d. per session; 3s. 6d. inclusive) will be available at the Conway Hall.

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All who are anxious to see the tragedy of famine and disease averted in Europe this winter, are urged to attend!

The Iniquity of Totalitarianism

THE totalitarian State did not first come into being with the Bolsheviks, the Fascists, or the Nazis; it grew gradually out of the modern conception of the sovereignty of the State and the disintegration of individuals and communities. The more families and communities fail to do, the more the State must do. The State becomes the general servant. It is called in aid for everything because what is useful is not done of men's own free will. The overburdening of the State proceeds in exact proportion to the decay of the communities antecedent to the State, to the structurelessness of human society.

A natural, organic structure based on free will is replaced of necessity by the artificial structure of the State, which is imposed by force, and which works from above downwards, from the most comprehensive to the smallest communities and to the individual. What comes into being is the modern centralized State which fills the void between the central power of the State and the individual, with its artificial forms of organization, its departments, districts and sham communities—structures without personal life, mere units of State administration.

The State thus created is the substitute for the lost community of the people and is the last step but one towards the totalitarian State. This last step from the centralized to the totalitarian State is achieved by the abolition of the independence of the individual, by the non-recognition of the primal rights of men—the pre-State communities having already lost their vitality and their dignity.

This inversion of the structure of the State which, instead of being built up from below, is organized from above, is the one great iniquity of our time, the iniquity which overshadows all others and generates them of itself. The order of creation is turned upside down. What should be last is first. The expedient, the subsidiary, has become the main thing. The State which should be only the bark on the life of the community has become the tree itself.

The law of the State is a just law only in so far as it protects and preserves the rights of individuals and

communities, which exist independently of it and are founded on the Divine order of justice. And that is the very thing which is so widely contested, or has become so insecure today. But where it is seriously contested, the idea of the totalitarian State already exists. For the totalitarian State is nothing but the absorption of all rights into the law of the State—that is, the complete freedom of the State to call what it will right, and to recognize no legitimate primal claims, whether of individuals or groups. The State has become master of everything and everybody, and man, with everything he possesses has become a slave of the State, without property, without dignity, without freedom. For he is free only in so far as he is entitled to an activity which is not commanded or permitted by another.

But in the totalitarian State, individuals and groups have only so much free play as the State allows. On principle, everything belongs to it—life, strength, freedom, ability, work. Whether the State takes the form of a Dictatorship or plays the farce of democracy, it is all the same, even though the individual citizens who have surrendered to its power are fully convinced that they are masters of this State because they have all the same right to create the State which enslaves them all.

The totalitarian State or federalism—that is the burning issue of justice in our time. But it must be grasped in all its depth, and that means that the totalitarian State must be recognized even in the States and nations which imagine themselves to be democracies and hence immune against the virus of totalitarianism. No form of State renders any country immune against totalitarianism, for the totalitarian State has nothing to do with constitutions. It is the "omni-competent State," the turning of all life into a State affair, a phenomenon which becomes possible only when the pre-State groups and individuals have been deprived of power.

* * *

The above is taken, with a few verbal amendments, from the translation of Emil Brunner's masterly book, "Justice and the Social Order," recently published by The Lutterworth Press (15s.).

LETTERS

Business as usual

OBSEVER expresses the hope (PN, Sept. 14) that Britain will take the lead in averting the ruin of Europe by insisting that the vital industries of the Ruhr be brought into production again. I wonder whether he realises how far from such a trend are the thoughts of our industrialists? I would like all readers to consider the implications of the following quotations from the September issue of "Business," a journal which is widely read by industrialists and business executives. The contributor had just returned from a trip through Germany.

"Clearly, the most substantial material gain which accrues to Britain from the defeat of Germany is the elimination of that country as a competitor in the markets of the world. How long that competition is eliminated is in the hands of the Western Allies to say. If they allow it to be revived they will deserve the ruthless consequences which they will inevitably get . . . German industry today is prostrate . . . The capacity for revival is, of course, also there, but it cannot be exercised without the open connivance of the British and the Americans." (My emphasis.)

The writer then makes a cold-blooded analysis of Germany's pre-war production and trade, and discusses the prospects of their being replaced by British manufacturers and exporters. Not confining himself to industries which might be adapted to war purposes, he deals, for instance, with the enormous destruction by bombing of Germany's pharmaceutical and drug industries—"In 1936 this export group was fourth amongst consumption goods exports, but it will be years, if ever, before it is an important competitor on world markets again."

One more extract from this happily-phrased gloat-dance: "For Great Britain the only substantial salvage of all the enormous losses it has suffered in life and wealth, and the only offset it can show for the three to four billion sterling in frozen overseas credits, is the fact that Germany as a competitor in world trade is, to use a word which is now heard all over Germany, 'kaput.'"

BRIAN McCARTHY.

25 Arboretum Avenue, Lincoln.
(To be fair to our industrialists, if "Business" represents the mentality of many of them, the "Economist" represents that of some. And the Economist's policy for Germany is the most enlightened that finds expression anywhere today.—Ed., P.N.)

Co-operation for Europe

IF it is permissible to notice any positive feature resulting from the present situation in Europe, then I am pleased to see that all sections of the Union are working hard to do something towards the alleviation of this terrible problem.

It is no longer a question of positive pacifism or war resistance, community or a new society. Murry or Morley. All shades of pacifists and the near-pacifists, religious or political are rallying together.

I may be critical of National Council, but I am with relief that I welcome this spontaneous co-operation. This work alone may justify the existence of the Union.

FRANK MAITLAND.

15 Beach Grove, Benton, Forest Hall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Diagnosis wanted

Pacifists should be indebted to Gen. Fuller for his blunt and excellent letter. "Pacifists should be the surgeons, not the gas bags of war." Very true. He continues: "Pacifists should consider the causes of war instead of forever harping on their effects." Exactly.

I have for the past seven years attended "circles" at which young men—and some old ones—have referred contemptuously to discussions of the causes of the war as "that bread and butter stuff." They waxed eloquent on the philosophers and sages as their infallible guides to war—and bored me stiff.

They ranted about the psychological differences between the Germans and ourselves—although they know nothing of the Germans. Most were convinced that the Allied Powers were indeed Crusaders battling against the "Powers of Evil," but they were extremely vague as to the credentials of the "haves" in their crusading role against the "have-nots."

Certain of them effused over Soviet Russia, although they had never been nearer than 500 miles to that celestial sphere. Others saw the cure for all ills in a different brand of Socialism, whilst completely overlooking the fact that the rabid selfishness of 90 per cent. of humans would make idealistic socialism quite unworkable.

To be practical, might I suggest a series of "Peace News" readers' letters, putting very concisely their opinions as to the causes of the last war and inserting any definite facts which they may possess (other than the Treaty of Versailles) which contributed to that tragedy. It might give the circles something concrete to work upon in their diagnosis. The next war will have the same basic causes. Therefore they will not be wasting their time.

H. W. DAVISON.
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Blakeney, Norfolk.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

determination, Russia, though she may desire to, will not be able to prevent it.

Hope for France

A GOOD omen for this reconstruction is the considerable increase in the strength of the Socialists after the French municipal elections. Their integrity and isolation has served them better than the opportunist alliance of the Radical-Socialists (who are not Socialists at all, but a conservative anti-clerical party) and the Communists. The Communists have made some gains in Paris: but the much heavier Socialist gains have been made chiefly at the expense of the Radical-Socialists. A new party, the MPR (Popular Republican Movement), which stands somewhere between the Socialists and the Radical-Socialists, is in front of the Communists.

It looks as though at the coming general election, in October, the Socialists and the Popular Republicans will have a clear majority. These have supported de Gaulle, not because they are enamoured of him, but because they feared the consequences of his overthrow by a tactical combination of Communists and Radical-Socialists.

After the October election, the position will be not so much that they support de Gaulle, as that he will have to rely on them: his power will become constitutional, and subject to democratic socialist control. Already he is being brought to heel. M. Dietrich, his War Minister, who has implemented his plan for a preposterously swollen army, was defeated in the election: and M. Pleven, the Finance Minister, has carried a reduction of military expenditure by two-thirds: to one sixth instead of one half the national expenditure.

U.S. and Palestine

THE USA is being rather difficult about Palestine. After rejecting the British proposal that USA should share responsibility for settling the problem, President Truman sent a personal letter to Mr. Attlee supporting the Jewish claim (made by the Agency three months ago) for the immediate immigration of 100,000 Jews into Palestine. That is typical of the USA at the present moment: to demand a policy and take no responsibility for effecting it, or for its consequences. President Truman's letter (duly publicized) was an irresponsibility in an American President which will encourage rather than check the political irresponsibility that is the besetting sin of the American public as a whole.

Britain has taken the best decision: to refer the whole problem to the Council of the United Nations. But that will not expedite a solution. A quick decision is necessary. What it should be is sufficiently indicated in two able articles in The Times (Sept. 24-25).

Case for partition

THE story there told of the vacillations of British policy towards the quasi-legal defence organisation of the Jews convinces me that here, as in India, the need is for a positive British initiative; and that the policy of apparent detachment towards rival claims amounts in fact to a refusal to take the responsibility of government. The Times correspondent in the case of Palestine comes down forthrightly for partition—that is, the complete independence of Jewish Palestine. He is quite convinced that the Arab protest would be brief and purely emotional; and that the Arab League as a whole has neither the will, nor the power nor even the desire to take action against it. The fear of Arab-Jewish war in the Middle East is unfounded (if not deliberate) alarmism.

Much the same, I suspect, applies to the talk of the civil war between Moslems and Hindus in India. If the British government would act boldly and ignore equally the frothy nonsense of Pakistan and the equivocations of Congress, while guaranteeing the Moslems safeguards against Hindu majority rule, there would seem to be a good chance of success.

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